

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

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S E C R E T STATE 239443

EXDIS

LONDON FOR SONNENFELDT

PARIS FOR HARTMAN

FOLLOWING SENT SECSTATE WASHDC FROM BUCHAREST 30 OCT 74:

QUOTE S E C R E T BUCHAREST 4995

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO BUCHAREST ROMANIAN

EXPECTATIONS

IN TALKING ABOUT THE SECRETARY'S VISIT THIS WEEKEND, THE  
MAIN THEMES STRESSED BY PRESIDENTIAL COUNSELOR VASILE  
PUNGAN TO ME OVER LUNCH OCTOBER 29 WERE:

1. CEAUSESCU IS PLANNING TO SET ASIDE AS MUCH TIME AS  
THE SECRETARY DESIRES FOR THEIR TALKS.
2. CONTINUING ROMANIAN CONCERN THAT THE SUPERPOWERS  
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WOULD TAKE DECISIONS ADVERSELY AFFECTING THE VITAL

INTERESTS OF SMALL COUNTRIES. HE CITED AMERICAN LACK OF INTEREST IN THE CSCE FOLLOW-UP MECHANISM (COUPLED WITH COMPARABLE SOVIET BEHAVIOR) AS LOOKING AS IF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS PROPOSED TO LET EACH OTHER HAVE A FREE HAND IN HIS "ZONE OF INFLUENCE." WHEN I DISPUTED THIS AND SAID WE ALSO OBVIOUSLY HAD NO INTEREST IN THE SOVIETS EXTENDING THEIR INFLUENCE IN AEEEA

PE,

PUNGAN RESPONDED THAT HE SENSED SOVIET CONCERN OVER OUR EXTENDING OUR INFLUENCE IN EASTERN EUROPE ACCOUNTED FOR THEIR LACK OF ENTHUSIASM ON THE FOLLOW-ON MACHINERY. HE URGED IN ANY CASE THAT THE SECRETARY MAKE CLEAR TO CEAUSESCU THAT THE US WAS NOT HAPPILY CARVING OUT ZONES OF INFLUENCE WITH THE SOVIETS, A GAME WHICH THE ROMANIANS SUSPECT THE SOVIETS OF BEING QUITE CAPABLE OF PURSUING.

3. ROMANIAN INSISTENCE ON NOT BEING TREATED AS AN APPENDAGE OF THE USSR NOR BEING LUMPED BY THE US AUTOMATICALLY WITH OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

4. THE NEED TO BRING A SENSE OF HISTORY TO BEAR ON ROMANIAN-US RELATIONS - A FAVORABLE PROCESS WHICH THE ROMANIANS CONSCIOUSLY BEGAN TO FOSTER IN THE EARLY SIXTIES, WHICH GATHERED MOMENTUM AFTER THEIR 1964 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE VIS-A-VIS CEMA AND ASSUMED VISIBLE FORM WITH THE 1969 NIXON VISIT.

5. IN THIS CONTEXT, PUNGAN VOICED GREAT ROMANIAN APPRECIATION FOR THE VERY FACT OF THE SECRETARY'S VISIT AND UNDERLINED THE NEED FOR CONTINUING DIALOGUE AFTER THE VISIT ON AREAS OF MUTUAL CONCERN LIKE THE BALKANS AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

6. CEAUSESCU WILL BE INTERESTED IN THE SECRETARY'S DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE AND PROSPECTS OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS AND WILL HAVE "SOME INTERESTING THINGS TO TELL HIM" FROM ROMANIA'S OWN EXPERIENCE WITH THE USSR.

7. CEAUSESCU WILL WANT TO RELATE THE FOOD AND ENERGY  
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CRISES TO WHAT HE CONSIDERS THE MORE GENERAL CRISIS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SEEKING TO FIND THEIR PLACE IN THE SCHEME OF THINGS.

8. ON MFN AND EMIGRATION, PUNGAN SAID THE US SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT THE SOVIETS ARE A JOHNNY-COME-LATELY COMPARED WITH ROMANIA'S HAVING LET MOST OF ITS JEWISH POPULATION EMIGRATE IN THE FIFTIES AND EARLY SIXTIES. I NOTED

THIS WAS ALL VERY WELL BUT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS COULD WELL ASK WHAT HAD ROMANIA BEEN DOING LATELY IN TERMS OF ALLOWING EMIGRATION TO THE US BY DUAL NATIONALS AND RELATIVES OF US CITIZENS.

9. COMMENT: HAVING SERVED IN WASHINGTON IN THE COLD WAR DAYS, IN BUCHAREST WORKING ON US-ROMANIAN RELATIONS IN THE EARLY SIXTIES, HAVING ACCOMPANIED CEAUSESCU ON BOTH VISITS TO THE STATES AND THEN ACTING SUBSEQUENTLY AS CEAUSESCU'S PERSONAL ENVOY TO WASHINGTON, PUNGAN IS IN A PARTICULARLY GOOD POSITION TO KNOW BOTH THE CONTEXT AND CONTENT OF US-ROMANIAN RELATIONS. BARNES UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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